291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
(824) busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
(114) said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
(191) transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/37 cont./

301
531

13a

13b

Fig. 13a-b. Chest string-bundle of the women (detail and diagram of the painting).

301 c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs

From the age of four on both sexes at times wear upper-arm cords, and women and girls in addition wrist- and leg-cords, which are made of curauá fibers or cotton. It was also definitely established that the two-strand curauá-fiber cords twisted to the right are the original objects, whereas the two-strand cotton cords twisted to the left are of more recent date. Moreover, here, too, it was observed that a strengthening effect is attributed to the plant fiber.

[283] [824] [856]

301 /37 cont./
856 Thus, the upper-arm cord -- xinariúnko -- is supposed to impart greater muscular and arm power (198). The wrist cord used

[192] 198. It is noteworthy that the curauá-fiber cord is also called by the word Xinariúnko, although the name for cotton -- xinarí -- is contained in it.

only by women and girls, likewise called xinariúnko, strengthens the wrists, it is believed, and the cord worn below the knees -- hukuá -- the legs.

301 As an ornament for the upper arms, however, besides the
171 simple cord, bands of string -- nyõômutimá -- the forms of which are exact miniature reproductions of the belts (199), a

[192] 199. In the word -- nyõômutimá -- there is contained the name for belt, nyõ, to which is appended the diminutive form ômutimá.

novelty /38/ for South America, since there are as yet no parallels for this. Thus, the string-bands of the men, 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5-2 centimeters in diameter (string-bands of boys: length, 12-15 centimeters; diameter, 0.5-1 centimeter), have the same roll-shaped appearance as their belts (Fig. 14a and b; Fig. 15a and b) and are made and painted or dyed by the women in the same way (see pp. 64/65). The wide, flat shape of the women's bands (length, 18-22 centimeters; width, 1-2.5 centimeters), however, corresponds perfectly with the belts worn by them, apart from the smaller size (Fig. 16a-c; Fig. 17), so that with regard to the manufacture and painting I can refer to the making of the women's belts (see p. 66). It should also be mentioned that the upper-arm /Figs. 14-16 appear here/ bands of younger women are narrower (1-1.5 centimeters) than those of older women (2-2.5 centimeters) (200).

200. An older Pakidái woman, by the way, wore a woven upper-arm band two and a half

/38 cont./

301
[438]

200. (cont.)
centimeters wide. She likewise designated it for me with the name nyõõmutimá and added that she had obtained it from a Xiriána woman.

301
184

The four Xiriána women whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái wore the same cords and bands on their upper arms, wrists, and legs, like all the Pusheweteri and Aramamesteri women, including the captive Karauateri girl. The latter, however, said that they had only adopted the upper-arm bands here, for in their tribes only upper-arm cords were used.

[284]

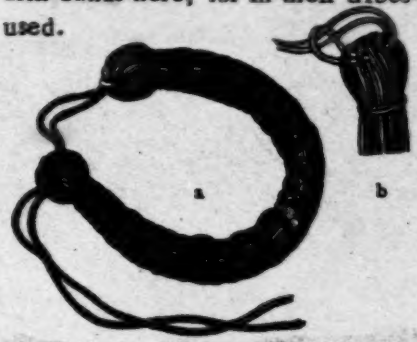


Fig. 14a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the men.

Fig. 15a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the young men.

Fig. 16a-c. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

/38 cont./

301
284

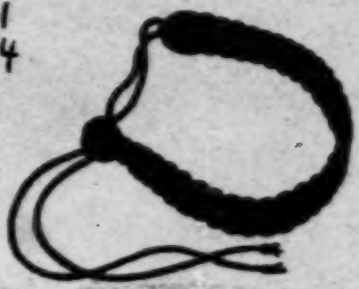


Fig. 17. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

184
301 According to Koch-Grünberg, too, among the Xiriána (Schirianá) the men wrap long, red-dyed cotton cords around their upper arms, while women use "narrow bands," which, however, they tie so tightly that the marks of them are seen even when they
301 are removed (201). The women of the Maiongkong-Yekuaná bind
171

201. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

their upper arms in the same tight fashion (202). With reference

202. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

to the Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Among the ornaments of the women, moreover, there are wide wrappings of strings of white beads below the knees, around the upper arms and the wrists. The men /39/ wear the same bead ornaments around the wrists, sometimes also around the ankles, but bind the legs below the knees with white cotton cords, the ends of which hang far down. Around the upper arms they usually wear only a string of white beads or a white cotton cord or, on festive days, a round disk of snail shells... The bindings around the legs are frequently pulled so tightly by young girls, out of vanity, that the calves bulge out tautly" (203) (204).

203. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 34.

204. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Ills. 7, 8.

Suryá
Pakidái

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hĩĩ -- (see p. 243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. [462] Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p. 119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

/40 cont./

302 184 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waikâ (207) (208),

207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Karime (209), and the Xirifna men on the Motomotô (210). With

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same 302 191 work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman: "The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakeká -- (Surára), -- nimukakuká -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahá --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehá.

304 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135). 301 The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
• 301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
[314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaścre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Puseheweteri and Aramamesteri women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
[127] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

304 /41 cont./
301 This confirms the statements of my informants, who said
184 that a perforation of the nasal septum was characteristic for the Xiriâna. For the male and female Waikâ, too, there is confirmation of nose, ear, and lower-lip rods, and, in the case of women, such in the corners of the mouth (214).

214. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 198-200.

As for the use of nose-rods, it seems to be a privilege of the two hostile "great ones" (see p. 12), for their lesser allies do not use them.

The other perforations, however, are the same among all the Yanonâmi tribes mentioned, but it should be pointed out that pierced corners of the mouth are found only among women.

304 With reference to the Karaiben Arekunâ-Taulipang, Koch-
301 Grünberg writes: "Ear lobes and lower lip are pierced, and in
171 the case of some men the nasal septum as well" (215). According

215. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

to that, the perforation of the nasal septum is reserved for only the men, and perforations of the corners of the mouth are en-
301 tirely absent. In the ear lobes, however, male as well as female
171 members of the tribe likewise wear little reed rods with one or two short chains of beads hanging down, to which are fastened silver coins and crescent-shaped or triangular pieces of silver leaf (216). The latter are the same type of objects that I found

216. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.
Plate 5 (6).

as ornaments among the Surâra and Pakidâi (see p. 85 and Ill. 9 /see p. 270/. Therefore, in this case, too, an adoption from the Karaiben, directly or indirectly, seems to be indicated. In reply to my question about the origin of these ornamental objects, the Xiriâna were mentioned, to be sure, but they for their part certainly

/41 cont./

•301 M/ did not make them themselves either, for they were made, by pounding and grinding, out of Brazilian silver coins which are no longer in circulation today. Moreover, for centuries the technical skill of the Karaiben with regard to gold, silver, and copper ornaments has been acclaimed. For example, Gumilla already mentions Karaiben tribes in the vicinity of the Orinoco who wore homemade plates of gold (217), and, according to de

217. Gumilla, 1745, I, p. 139.

Rochefort, the Island Karaiben used ear pendants of gleaming copper (218). Crescent-shaped silver leaf is used by the Makuxí

218. de Rochefort, 1658, p. 289.

men, but they wear it on a nose rod (219).

219. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 198, Figs. 2 and 4.

Further comparative material is to be found in the valuable work by Brigitte Menzel, "Deformierender Gesichtschmuck südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Deforming Facial Ornaments of South American Primitive Peoples/." Here it was shown that ear ornaments of metal occur especially frequently in northwest Amazonas as well as Guiana (220), and also ear ornaments of teeth are con-

220. Menzel, 1957, p. 38 and Map 14.

firmed in considerable quantity for the highlands of Guiana (221).

221. Menzel, 1957, p. 34.

With reference to the ornamentation of the corners of the mouth, the authoress writes: "From an accumulation in the source region of the Ucayali, the evidence extends over northwest Amazonas

/41 cont./

301 171 301 304 171

as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomically) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 [881]

g) Tattooing

All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstruation (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[192]

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe. These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit -- uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

[824] [386]

/43 cont./

304 174 171 114

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring [531] motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narâ --, a [824] paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. [386] Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabá --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the [413] fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriâna (Schirianâ) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonâmi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

●301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxî -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxî aratexinâ -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauâ fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

301 /43 cont./
237 Pauxí maraxí -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers
825 of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).
Pauxí koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).
Pauxí parurihonomaíbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).
Pauxí marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).
Pauxí xeraχeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:
Pauxí prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).
Pauxí maraxiakosíbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxí parurihés -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxí manhebéahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxí nhapinhéssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxí pehakossíbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors. [554]

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Bororo, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and
114 Aramamesterí men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
237 the Makuxí and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 j) Bead ornaments
436 European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this
(822) day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái. They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

/45 cont./

301 436 822 [191] only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

301 462 They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

301 822 I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

301 Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

/45 cont./

●301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriâna. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacîk -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described [412] above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 113). Since the yâritanacîk is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293),

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

● [301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
857 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 2[illegible]). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
788 Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Poré/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

769
461 After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

769 Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part

[302]
[301]

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.),
the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,
during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Poré/Perimbó (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

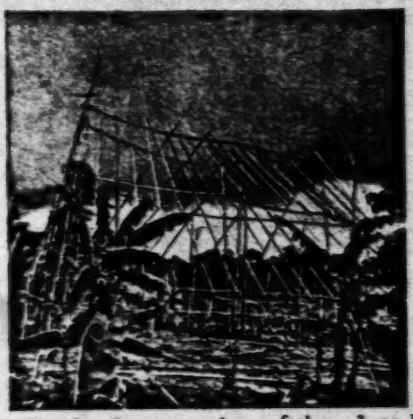
[751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Poréhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
[301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
[522] the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

2: Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

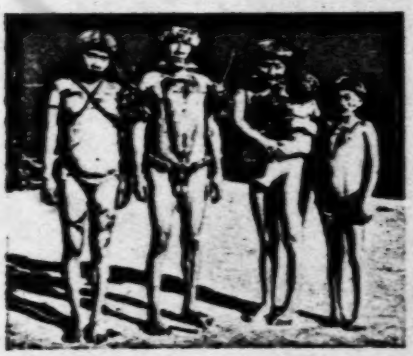
342
361



Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

142
301
302
291
622

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

142
291
301
302
854
622

142
301
302

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára, Pakidái
/6/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516
←

142
411
301
302
342
291
624
→

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusheweteri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusheweteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

142
291
302
516
854

142
301
302

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

137
142
291
302

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

291 /203 cont./
Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
●301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[715] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ
Sanema

142
302
291
501
352
516

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4: Wilbert--76 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
●301

Waica boy of the upper Orinoco.
Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi.

4: Wilbert--77 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
301

304]

A Waica girl of the upper Orinoco. The little sticks are held in perforations of the lips.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
291
301
411
516

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzz

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
302
142
● 301

9. *Reading-matter reaches the Anai Shyriana.*

[p. 96 - A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
276

10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

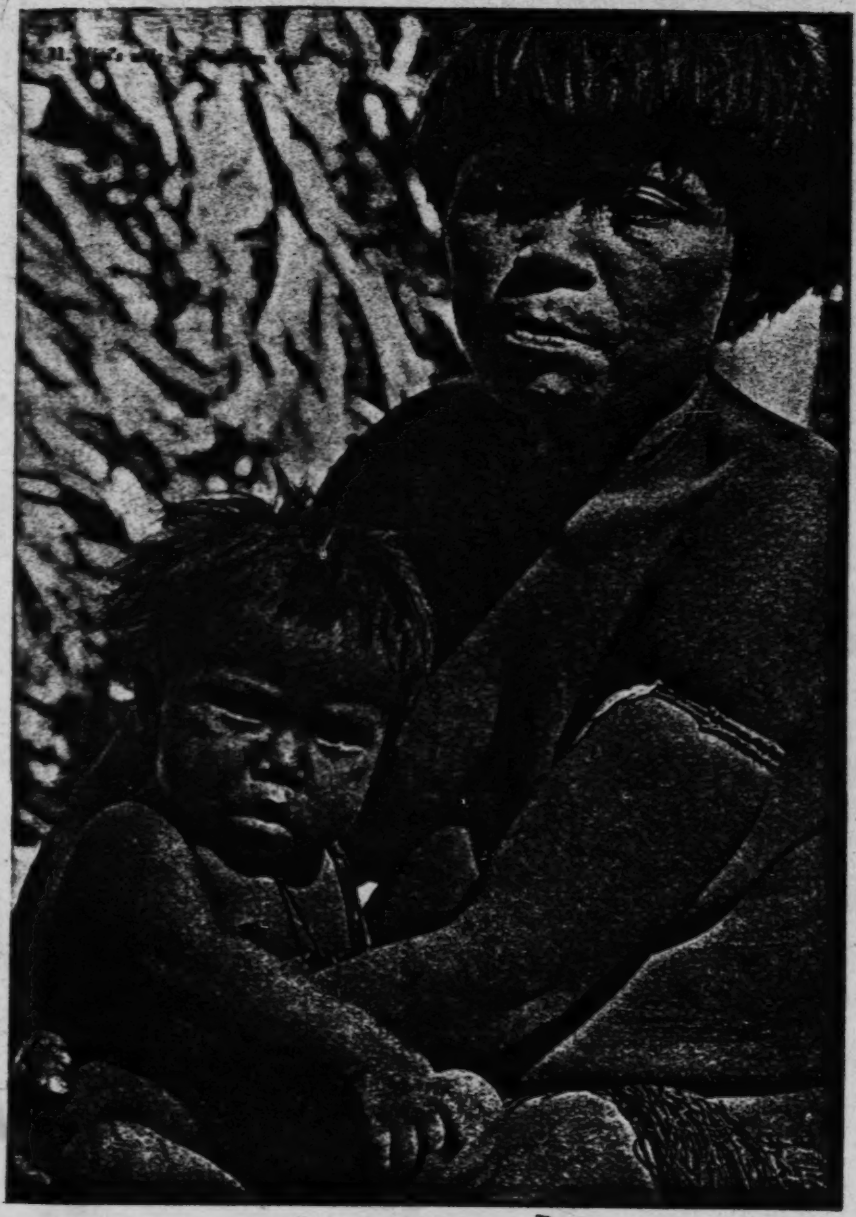
11 & 12. *Waroma's brothers-in-law.*

142
291
302

[301]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

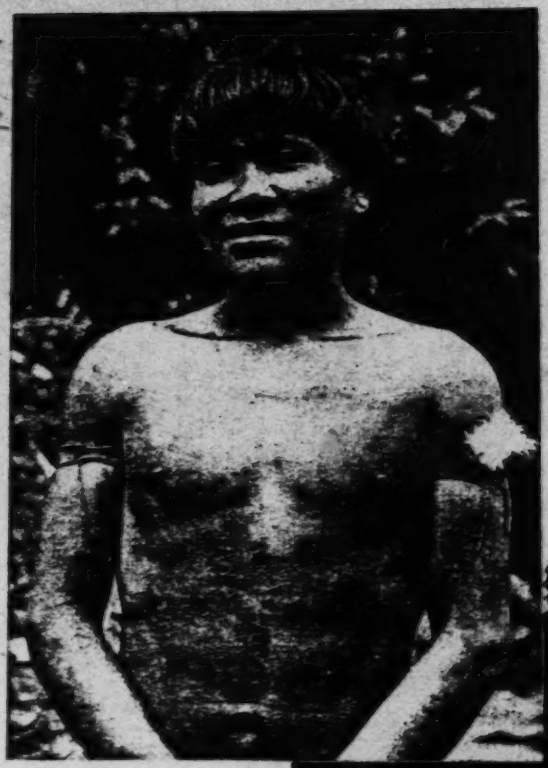
142
302
301



[p. 144-G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SO18
Sanema

142
301
302



35. *Dolfuss was pale and handsome.*

142
411
516

36. *A typical primitive: a man of good will, ugly as he is.*

[p. 192-A]

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

• 301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ:8 Yanoama SQ 18

142
302
301
411

Guaharibo Indian of the Padamo river. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 64 – A]

[pp. 1-64 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariˈbo

123 [301] [501]

than a few inches across. All had their ears pierced by sticks slightly thicker and longer than a cigarette. Their paddles were short and as crudely constructed as the boat itself, some being roughly rounded and others no more than discs lashed with lianas to a pole handle.

To these primitives we must have appeared a strange collection. Who are these beings—they must have asked themselves—who go about dressed, shod and bearded, and who point queer things at us which go " click " ? And the many boats lined up there, that go so fast and make much noise ! Mopare had probably told them wonderful tales, but since he had left the camp when it was still in embryo, he was doubtless as much amazed by its present size as the others. There was a moment of hesitancy and then Butrón held out a machete and said : " *Shori ! Shori ! Noji !* " He told us this meant " friend " or " relative ". In exchange for the machete, he demanded the man's bow and arrows. The size of the bow surprised me, since it was taller than the man himself. One by one the Indians disembarked and surrendered their arms in exchange for machetes. All except a fine, well-built brave who seemed to be their leader and who remained sitting in the stern of the boat, watchful and silent. The women, still cowering, stayed near him. At last, seeing his companions on shore and our attitude giving no cause for mistrust, he was reassured. Courteously and with dignity he held out a hand to the women, who were still apprehensive.

" Padamo ? " we asked him.

" Padamu, Padamu," he replied.

[194]

The final vowel, nasal and strongly accentuated, lies between " o " and " ou ". The word is indigenous and has been the river's official nomenclature since the time of Diez de la Fuente.

" Guaharibo ? "

Another nasal sound which cannot be transcribed followed. It was a sort of grunt and could have meant " Yes ". And then : " Guaharibo ".

" Waïka ? "

[648]

A worried look, followed by the gesture of bending a bow.

" Waïka—pfft ! Waïka—pfft ! "

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
302
301

TOP: The Waikas jump aboard as soon as we touch the shore. Notice lower lip extended by a quid of tobacco. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM: This one has just received the gift of a pencil. Notice the shaven skull and the scars on the scalp. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96—D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waïkas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waïka is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waïka's only weapon. Made of strong,

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
199 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[489] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[64] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while caring a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

11: Chagnon 8-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

721
181
123
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1-2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1-2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.

142
301
48
535
629
578
291

Fig. 1-3. Kaobawä, the area leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Biasasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was heshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon R-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawë had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawë's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawë have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąobawë is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kamaishiwa, Kąobawë's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

142
301
302
276

Fig. 2–3. Men blowing ebene, *a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.*

342

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąobawä's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[136]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[462]

[351]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwë, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342
821
756
789

The Yąnomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342
489

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
137
417
481
222

Fig. 2-6. Rerëhawë climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

222
231
252
262
[251]

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

222
252
262

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

137
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

593 462 [252]

593 164 [137]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *hekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *hekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kaobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kaobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kaobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kaobawä's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur: the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *so mosiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4–2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast: the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

301
516
291

[57]

Fig. 4-4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; this permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

*628
578

these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kaobawä and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kaobawä and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
164
515

Fig. 5–1. Karïma, one of Kaobawä's daughters, picking lice out of her grandfather's battered head—his scars are from club fights. She wears decorative sticks inserted in the corners of her mouth as a beauty aid. These were inserted at about age five, together with one in the lower lip and another in the nasal septum.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
765
276
926

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Dumowä, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
901
726
114
722
*628
726
[KS]

located the enemy, but Paruriwä refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisasi-teri raided against the Patanowä-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Mondiy-teri also raided the Patanowä-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Dumowä were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.